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BRITAIN'S COMMUNISTS REACT
—Douglas Hyde

THE

# Commonweal

***Freedom from Above***

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by Michael Harrington

## The Modernity of Baudelaire

by Horace Gregory

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# THE CATHOLIC WORKER

March, 1958

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THE COMMONWEAL
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THE
# Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

## week by week

### ATTACK ON THE COURT

AT VARIOUS PERIODS in our national history, the Supreme Court has come under heavy fire. In the thirties, New Deal liberals led the attack on the Court. These days, however, the wheel has come full circle. Today liberals defend rather than attack, and, as Michael Harrington suggests in this issue, onslaughts on the Supreme Court have become almost exclusively the province of the right wing.

The most sweeping legislative effort to nullify recent "liberal" trends in Supreme Court decisions is the measure fathered by Senator William E. Jenner of Indiana. Few observers think there is very much danger that this bill will go through. Many members of the Judiciary Committee headed by Senator Eastland seem to favor it, but it is highly unlikely that the Senate as a whole would pass it.

Yet, slight as its chances are, the Jenner proposal is potentially so dangerous that the conservative American Bar Association has felt it wise to come out strongly against it, as have scores of deans and professors of American law schools and many distinguished individual lawyers. This is not strange; even a quick look at the bill shows why its opponents are taking no chances.

Senator Jenner is not content to attack one unpopular decision, or even a whole series of decisions in one broad category. Instead he would strip the Court of jurisdiction in five crucial areas, denying it any right to review cases which involve: the practices of Congressional committees; any "security action" carried out by the Executive under an Act of Congress; any state law dealing with subversion; any school board action on subversion; or any state rule concerning admission to the bar. Thus in one fell swoop this measure would bar the Court from areas in which its decisions have been unpopular with conservative groups.

No one suggests that the Supreme Court is perfect or that it should be above criticism. But what Senator Jenner suggests is not criticism; it is emasculation.

IF THE JENNER proposal became law, confusion on a national scale would inevitably follow. Decisions in the five areas prohibited to the U.S. Supreme Court could be made by state supreme courts and the eleven Federal Courts of Appeal. Thus the nation would have not one interpretation of the law but fifty-nine; not one Supreme Court for the nation but fifty-nine courts, each supreme in its own geographical area. In no time what would be the law of the land in New York might be something quite different in California.

Passage of the Jenner measure would mean the beginning of the end for an independent judiciary. Judges can make mistakes, either alone or acting as a team of nine. But experience indicates that the best long-range protection for justice is an independent judiciary. A court that acts in constant fear lest a hostile legislature strip it of its powers or the judges of their jobs is no longer free; it has ceased to be a court of law and has become a creature of the legislature.

There is significance, too, in the fields to which Senator Jenner would deny the Supreme Court access. Even with the restraining power of the Supreme Court in the background, for example, some Congressional investigating committees have in the past decade seriously abused their power. What would they do if the individual citizen had no effective right of appeal? Or consider the question of state laws on subversion. In recent years "anti-subversion" legislation has been introduced in several states in which the wording was so loose that almost anything could be called "subversive" if it



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were sufficiently unpopular in the area. What would become of American freedoms if such laws were not subject to measurement against a Constitutional yardstick by the Supreme Court?

The American system involves a balance of power. This balance is rarely, if ever, perfect. But the passage of time, operation of the normal political processes, and informed criticism can be counted on to redress an imperfect balance. The Supreme Court has undoubtedly made mistakes in its long history, and the Warren Court may well have made some of its own. But it is better to risk an occasional judicial mistake than to give the forty-eight states and Congress almost unlimited power, to be used as they please. At worst, Senator Jenner's proposal could be a serious threat to American freedom. At best, it is more dangerous than the disease it pretends to cure.

## EXPLAINING LOURDES AWAY

IT WOULD seem to be quite natural for the *Saturday Review,* which in recent years has branched out from books to encompass travel, art and music, to deal with the much-visited shrine of Lourdes—which is now observing its centennial year. The March 15 issue begins its section, "Spring and the Traveler," with two articles on Lourdes plus a short reminiscence on Franz Werfel, author of the *Song of Bernadette.*

A Dr. Manuel Manrique contributes the principal article, "Miracles Explained." He says at the outset: "It is not my intention to pass judgment here on the validity of theological and religious concepts of miracles." He immediately sets about attempting to demonstrate two things: first that a vision like those of Bernadette is actually a "projection of an inner image," rather than an apparition which has any objective validity. Then he considers reported miracles themselves, insisting, with a few tenuous qualifications, that the supposed cures at this shrine to the Virgin Mary comprise at best a "transitory amelioration of symptoms." If this is not "passing judgment," the phrase would seem to be devoid of any real meaning.

In the course of arguing these two points Dr. Manrique verges on the offensive. He seeks to explain the devotion to the Virgin of a young girl like Bernadette in unsophisticated—and at times even crude—Freudian terms. And he then utilizes this hypothesis to account for other accepted apparitions of the Virgin.

By confining his discussions of cures claimed to be miraculous virtually to illnesses which represent a "hysterical manifestation without organic cause," the author skips by an abundance of authenticated medical evidence. A 1933 study in *Fortune,* for instance, tells of instantaneous cures of tubercular peritonitis, of a twenty-five-pound fibroid tumor and of a normally fatal, inoperable stomach cancer —also of the instantaneous creation of three centimeters of leg bone. Moreover, the shrine's exacting Bureau of Medical Examinations, staffed by outstanding doctors of every creed, has been investigating these cures for seventy years. It submits every claim that an incurable has been miraculously cured to a most thorough examination on the spot; before pronouncing judgment it also requires the *miraculé* to return for another thorough examination a year later. The number of miraculous cures the Bureau authenticates is small. But as *Fortune* said: "If one miracle occurs, it is as remarkable as a hundred." Lourdes today may have attracted its sneak thieves and distressingly prominent purveyors of tawdry religious goods, but its essential character is many removes from the oversimplified Freudian fantasies and hypothetical diagnoses proffered by Dr. Manrique in the *Saturday Review.*

## LIMITING FALL-OUT

RUSSIAN proposals for a ban on nuclear tests have been repeatedly rejected by the United States on the grounds that the cessation of tests would be meaningless so long as there was no control over the production of nuclear weapons; that the continuance of nuclear tests is of great importance in maintaining our military security; and that it would be too easy for the U.S.S.R. to "cheat" on such an agreement.

Despite the validity of these considerations, based as they are on the Soviet's long record of diplomatic bad faith, world opinion has tended to count the Russian proposals as positive and promising in the effort towards ending the disastrous arms race, and the United States position as negative and truculent. Even in America there has been much criticism of the Administration's "intransigence" and disagreement over the possibility of undetected "cheating" under a nuclear test ban.

For example, the Atomic Energy Commission has recently been under fire for announcing that the underground nuclear test of last fall had been detected only within a radius of 250 miles. Prodded by skeptical scientists and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.), the A.E.C. later admitted



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that the underground blast had been detected as far away as Alaska, a distance of more than two thousand miles. The Congressmen who investigated the possibility of deliberate misrepresentation by the A.E.C. were satisfied that the error in the official announcement was "entirely inadvertent," but the controversy over the likelihood of detecting a nuclear explosion deep within Soviet territory is far from settled.

Now, however, a hopeful possibility for compromise between the previous United States and Soviet positions has been put forward by Dr. Willard Libby, acting chairman of the A.E.C. Dr. Libby has suggested that a world quota be established on the amount of radioactive material the nuclear testing nations could release into the world's atmosphere and stratosphere. A "safe" world level of radioactive fall-out would be settled upon by scientists all over the world, according to Dr. Libby's plan, and then the quotas for the individual nations would be worked out by negotiation.

Dr. Libby's proposal may not be the ideal solution to the problem, but it has many merits. First of all, it *is* a compromise. It would at least slow down nuclear testing, would reduce the world's danger from radioactive fall-out, would be a first step toward a more extensive nuclear weapons agreement. Insofar as radioactive fall-out is easily measured, according to Dr. Libby, his plan would meet the practical objections concerning the detection of Soviet violations. And it would permit the nuclear tests—for both military and peaceful purposes—which some of our experts believe to be so important.

The Libby formula is, of course, only a tentative suggestion, and not an official Administration position. It is neverthless a welcome development in what has become a discouragingly static situation.

## A BISHOP TEACHES

SOME WEEKS ago Bishop Pietro Fiordelli of Prato was fined by a civil court on a charge of criminal defamation of character. Because they had refused a Church wedding in favor of a civil ceremony, the Bishop had labeled as "public sinners" a couple who were baptized as Catholics. While the groom is now a professed atheist, the bride is well known in Prato for her Catholic activities. The groom claimed that as a result of the Bishop's public statement his trade had fallen off and his business been damaged. He therefore brought against the Bishop the suit which resulted in the fine.

The Pope made public declaration of sadness at the verdict, canceling a solemn pontificial Mass that was to have marked the anniversary of his coronation. In Italy, Catholic papers generally joined in this sentiment, but anti-clerical papers rejoiced at what they claimed as a victory and much of the secular press regarded the verdict as a decision for freedom and the individual. The reactions in this country were comparable, but tempered by distance, a knowledge that Church-State relations in Europe differ markedly from those in the United States, and a feeling of incompleteness about the story as it was reported.

Neither those who regard the verdict as a welcome setback to an authoritarian Church nor those who see it simply as a loss in the struggle with Communists are likely to have second thoughts concerning this matter. But others, particularly those who have a real interest in civil liberties but nonetheless welcome the Prato verdict, should reflect on this issue.

The couple were publicly stigmatized as sinners. That the man's business suffered was a consequence but not the purpose of the Bishop's statement. His purpose was to fulfill his duty of proclaiming the teachings of the Church to those Catholics within his care. This he did, making clear that "in the light of Christian morality and the laws of the Church [you must] classify these two among the public concubines."

Those who accept without question the verdict of the court are in the position of saying that an authorized and acknowledged spokesman cannot reassert the teachings of an organization when these teachings are being violated by members of that group. Put in these terms it is clear that the civil liberties of the Bishop are involved here—a fact that may be more obvious if the issues are translated into a non-religious context.

Apart from the Bishop's right to proclaim the teachings of the Church, some people questioned the need. Surely, they said, this is not the first instance of Catholics marrying outside the Church, and such open statements were not previously made. But the Communists in the Prato area have been conducting a campaign against Church weddings. Against their open propaganda the Bishop openly asserted the morality and laws of the Church.

The vast differences between Church-State relations in Italy and in the United States admittedly bring further complications to this issue. But all Americans, Catholic or not, should contemplate with misgivings the ease with which the state can extend the area of its power.



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# Civil Liberties—by Fiat

*Recent gains in civil liberties have been welcome, but we must remember that what can be so gratuitously given can be as easily taken away*

by MICHAEL HARRINGTON

DURING the last few years, civil liberties in America have gone through a sort of revolution, from above. Indeed, one wonders which is the more remarkable: that the aggressive anti-libertarianism of the McCarthy era is in retreat, or that all this has happened without any major force in American political life doing very much about it.

Involved in this strange and sudden change are a whole series of ambiguities and paradoxes. For one thing, the major instrument of the transition, the Supreme Court, has long been regarded as one of the most conservative and insulated institutions in our society. It was, after all, only two decades before the great decisions of the spring of 1957 that many liberals and radicals in the United States were calling for a reform of the Court and a limitation upon its power. Today, that particular crusade is a near-monopoly of figures like Senator Eastland.

There is the further curious fact that this Court was appointed by President Eisenhower, whose personal utterances seem quite distant from the tradition of civil liberties. The Vinson Court, which validated most of the basic laws of the attack upon freedom, was, of course, the creation of Harry Truman's Fair Deal. Confusion is now compounded because the Warren majority (following long-established practice) has been overturning decisions without saying so. Thus, the Smith Act rulings of last spring were for all intents and purposes a denial of the basic premises of the Dennis decision which declared the Act constitutional. But they were announced in terms of carrying out the logic of the previous case even as they shattered it.

In short, one might say that we have, in the past few years, been the fortunate beneficiaries of creeping civil liberties. The gains have naturally been welcome. But we must understand the curious process behind them, for what can be so gratuituously given can be as easily taken away.

First, there is the political background. During the period in which the personal power of Senator McCarthy was put to rout, and civil liberties in general advanced, there was no major and significant mobilization of sentiment in the United States on behalf of civil liberties.

There is, for example, the eerie chronology of McCarthy's rise and fall. In February, 1950, the Senator from Wisconsin made his first famous speech at Wheeling, West Virginia. From then until the fall of 1954, his fortunes appeared to be continuously in the ascendant. At that point, the Army-McCarthy hearings focused the attention of the nation. From all that had gone before, a good gambler might have predicted that McCarthy would come through the experience all the stronger. But in the span of a few months, the hearings led to a Senate censure, and then, most eerie of all, to silence. The man whose picture and words had dominated the front pages of the American press for some four years disappeared from public view almost without a trace. Why?

CERTAINLY the hearings and the censure played a crucial role, yet neither of them involved the issue of "McCarthyism." At the hearings, for example, there was no direct challenge to the technique of insinuation and half-truth, of cropped pictures and sentences torn from context. Indeed, when McCarthy attacked one of Joseph Welch's associates for membership in an organization which he charged with being Communist, the reaction of the puckish Welch was almost naive. Shaking with emotion, Welch expressed shock and surprise at such a tactic. Yet this method of attack was precisely the essence of McCarthyism.

Mr. Harrington writes frequently for this and other magazines on political and cultural questions.



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The censure was in the same vein. The actual charges—abuse of a General; refusal to accept an "invitation" to testify; unbecoming conduct—had little or nothing to do with McCarthyism. The Senator was censured, as many pointed out, for violating the "rules of the club," for a lack of decorum rather than for actual abuses. And yet, the effect was devastating. The Senate vote seemed to have been a terrible blow to McCarthy himself, and after it his personal power steadily declined. A peripheral attack had dealt a blow to McCarthyism. Thus in the chronology of the fall of McCarthy the man, there is no record of a basic, political assault upon the ism which bore his name.

But even more crucial was the lack of any major political mobilization outside of Congress. There were, to be sure, various pressure groups and publications, and even a few Senators and Representatives, who addressed themselves to the fundamental civil libertarian points involved. But in such an important period as the 1952 campaign, no one in the Democratic Party formulated any significant alternate program of civil liberties. McCarthy was attacked, but the basic questions of the repression of freedom—questions concerning the rights of witnesses before committees, the Smith Act, the Fifth Amendment—were either ignored or basically compromised. It was left to the Supreme Court to deal with these thorny problems.

All of this suggests, I think, that our jubilation over recent developments should be somewhat tempered. For we have not achieved a mass consciousness of the importance of civil liberties, a popular feeling about, say, the Fifth Amendment. Instead, there has been a victory almost by fiat. And those of us who were deeply pessimistic about the resources of American civil libertarianism during the McCarthy period have no warrant to sit back and enjoy the new-found freedom which has been handed to us.

Yet it is also obvious that the considerable change which has taken place is not the abstract creation of the Warren Court. We must ask what caused the change in atmosphere which made the new decisions, and their general acceptance, possible.

HERE WE must go somewhat far afield, to the international scene. It is not accidental that the rise and fall of McCarthyism more or less paralleled the period of the Korean War. A few months after the Wheeling speech, in June of 1950, the North Korean Communists staged their invasion. A Congress which had been debating whether or not to extend the draft immediately began to move under conditions of semi-war, and disputes over the rights of Communists were injected into the atmosphere created by casualty figures. The domestic subversive, real or alleged, was now seen as an enemy with gun in hand.

In 1952, Eisenhower's election prepared the way for the liquidation of the Korean War. And in that fact is another element which bears upon the fate of McCarthyism. Had Truman, or Stevenson, accepted the Communist terms which Eisenhower agreed to, there certainly would have been something of an impeachment movement. At a minimum, there would have been a continuation of the atmosphere which had been essential in the rise of McCarthyism. But when this was done by a Republican President, and one who had been a General, there was little that could be achieved by the forces of the far right. For they had lost their base in the conservative and Republican mood, and they could only act independently by counterposing themselves to an extremely popular President.

This does not mean, as some have suggested, that Eisenhower acted with consummate political skill in ignoring the issue of McCarthyism. From the deletion of a reference to George Marshall in a 1952 campaign speech in Wisconsin down to the defeat of McCarthy, the President followed a studious policy of compromise, abstention and unconcern. Not once did he utilize his enormous personal prestige to speed the end of McCarthyism. To describe such conduct as a brilliant strategy is to argue that one stops a cloudburst by huddling in a doorway during the rain.

But given the inaction of Eisenhower and the inability of the liberal politicians (as distinguished from the particular liberal groups) to mount a serious attack on McCarthy, the most important factor in his decline was the general change in mood which took place in 1953 and 1954. The Korean War was ended; the summit meeting took place at Geneva; a mood of Republican "normalcy" took over. Isolated from responsible conservatism, which backed Eisenhower, no longer able to appeal to the mood of the casualty list, McCarthy was in a position to be toppled. The Army-McCarthy hearings and the censure were largely a ratification of changes in popular feeling.

But then, of course, the end of McCarthy's personal political power in no way signified the end of the attack on civil liberties. The Smith Act remained, and so did the various Loyalty and Security Boards. A witness could still be called before a committee and asked outrageous questions with a contempt citation as the price of silence. It was not until this last year that basic breaches were made in the formidable bureaucratic apparatus of repression. And here the focus becomes the Supreme Court.

THE SUPREME COURT, it has often been said, follows the election returns. But that aphorism is dangerous. It is true in the long run, but, as the Court in the thirties demonstrated, this life-time and appointive body is often the last political institution in the society to respond to a popular mandate. In other



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words, it would be rash to attribute the 1957 decisions solely to the change in mood on the part of the people. That was an element, particularly in preparing the way for an acceptance of the rulings, but chancier factors—the peculiarities of Eisenhower's appointments—are certainly much more important in the short run.

In the thirties, this ability of the High Court to frustrate widespread wishes, at least in the short run, was a major issue. The cry of liberals and radicals in that period was for judicial non-interference. Thus it was that Justice Frankfurter, one of the chief exponents of the theory that the acts of Congress should be generally presumed constitutional, represented a legal "left wing." But Frankfurter came on the Court at the end of the New Deal period when the central problem was no longer the experimentation of the legislature in the name of social welfare but the growing power of the legislature as against the citizen. By remaining consistent, by applying the same doctrine, Frankfurter stood still and "traveled" from judicial liberalism to judicial conservatism.

It was in this period of repression that several Justices, particularly Black and Douglas, developed their theory of judicial competence. The presumption, they argued, was with the constitutionality of the Congressional act in every instance but that of civil liberties. Since the question of free speech and association did not involve experimentation *within* the democratic framework, but the very framework itself, the presumption here was to be conservative. In the case of social and economic legislation, the court was to lean toward innovation; in the case of restrictions on rights, it was to be a bulwark of traditional freedoms.

If one adopts this Black-Douglas approach, the recent decisions do not pose any great formal problems. One can welcome the acts of the Court in limiting the powers of the Congress in the area of civil liberties without establishing reactionary precedents in relation to the social legislation of the future. But some of those who have greeted the recent decisions have not made this distinction. And in so far as they have let their enthusiasm for the Court in this particular case issue into generalizations, they may later find themselves quoted by a reactionary opposition. However welcome recent decisions on civil liberties, one cannot forget that the Supreme Court has a built-in tendency toward conservatism.

Consideration of this basic fact reveals the precariousness of the recent victories. Modern society, with its enormous concentrations of power, above all with its stratification of capitalism, inevitably tends toward the bureaucratic. Given the fact that the main domestic development of the past few decades has been one of the growth of administrative bodies which are not restricted by all the niceties of the Anglo-American tradition, the issue of personal freedom, of civil liberties, is bound to be a perennial and complex part of our lives.

And throughout the great debate over civil liberties (if one can dignify a situation in which the traditional forces of progress adopted a tactic of retreat and compromise with the phrase "great debate"), this fundamental issue was avoided. There was no real mobilization of political consciousness to seek a new application. This is a fact which may well be of enormous importance in the future. If, to take but one simple example, a Korea-style war were to break out again, who is willing to guarantee that American society has found the resources to maintain and expand freedom in such a period? Indeed, is it not quite possible that we would witness the emergence of a new claimant to the laurels of Senator McCarthy?

THIS SITUATION inevitably gives rise to a certain pessimism. One thing is certain: the problem can only be solved through the revitalization of a truly democratic tradition in this country. Our responsibility today, in this period of relative stability, is to redouble our efforts for civil liberties. If the recent gift of freedom is to acquire a more enduring significance, then the liberal complacency (the result of the *deus ex machina* ending to the last, McCarthyite chapter) must be transformed.

But before this can really take place, there must be a lot of rethinking. For American liberalism tended to justify its overly pragmatic adaptation to the popular mood in terms of revising principles. As often as not, the pressure groups acted in the ideological sphere as if they accepted the assumptions of the vigilantes. And that means that many of the old traditions—particularly those concerning the First and Fifth Amendments and the principle of individual innocence and guilt—must be rediscovered and re-integrated into liberal thought. It is one more interesting paradox to note that the Supreme Court decisions of last spring were considerably in advance of a good sector of liberal opinion.

We are going through a period of false complacency which is not conducive to great efforts toward rethinking, toward the development of a popular sentiment in America for civil liberties. We have been delivered from the excesses of the recent past, but that has been accomplished from above, and through a change in mood on the part of the nation. No one should imagine that this revitalization will be accomplished readily. The retreat has been halted, to be sure, but we have yet to develop in our society a general awareness of the significance of civil liberties and a tradition of their defense. And this is what we must do if we wish to make sure that the worst excesses of our recent history do not return.



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# CONTROVERSY IN CONNECTICUT

I WAS ASKING a man who is close to the perennial controversy in Connecticut whether the birth-control laws actually have teeth in them. He said not much. He said that doctors there supply their patients with information about contraception despite the laws and contraceptives are as readily available as anywhere else.

Why all the fuss then? I asked. My friend said that the issue had symbolic meaning. What is often presented as a collision of moralities is in actuality a Catholic-Protestant power struggle. Catholics do not feel that they can afford to let the anti-birth control laws pass from the books without seeming to approve contraception; and as long as they are on the books Protestants regard them as a symbol of Catholic dominance in the state. Connecticut politicians generally treat the whole subject as an extremely hot potato. Those in Washington usually avoid it by saying that the question is a not a national issue and therefore does not concern them. Executive office-holders insist nervously that the issue is one for the legislature to handle. The state legislators of course reflect the religious affiliations of their own districts. Unlike their confreres in Washington or in the Governor's mansion, they would be in trouble if they did not take a stand, and it is clear most of them feel they would be out of a job if they did not take the position held by the majority religious group in their constituency.

There are some ironic aspects in this Connecticut situation. First of all, of course, is the fact that the laws were put on the books not by Catholics but by Protestant legislators. The same is true of the comparable laws in Massachusetts. And these two historically Puritan strongholds, incidentally, are the only states where such laws exist. I can not imagine a Catholic community, except one deeply influenced by Protestant puritanism, even considering legislation of this kind. It is significant that there are no serious Catholic efforts to write similar laws for any of the other forty-six states. That is so, obviously, not because the Catholic Church countenances birth control by artificial means (its position, based on the Natural Law, has been made crystal clear) but because it is contrary to the Catholic tradition of jurisprudence to translate the moral law so readily into civil legislation. This practice has been more characteristically Protestant, as America's dismal experience with the Volstead act illustrates. The traditional Catholic hesitancy to "legislate morality," in fact, often shocks Protestant visitors to Latin countries. In Connecticut, it would appear, almost the opposite is true.

There is further irony in the fact that if one were to state the two sides of the argument in the abstract, each partisan would probably endorse the other's logic. Catholics argue that since birth control is immoral it should be outlawed as a possibility by civil authority (the Protestant argument for gambling legislation); Protestants argue that it is not the business of the state to underwrite any one group's interpretation of morality or the Natural Law; because a practice is immoral—or considered so—does not *ipso facto* mean it must be illegal (the Catholic argument against gambling legislation). For this particular controversy each side seems to be borrowing a page from the other's book.

Most ironic of all of course is that the laws are merely decorative; they serve no real purpose other than to provide a focus for a group power struggle.

Some Connecticut politicians prove their loyalty to their Catholic constituencies by vigorously supporting the symbolism of the laws; others, who depend on Protestant support, establish independence of papist control by demanding that the laws be expunged from the books.

No Catholic politician, whatever he thinks of the laws, can afford to say a word against them because it would surely be interpreted as a word for birth control; it would not be long before he was charged with being anti-morality, anti-natural law, a traitor to the Church and probably an enemy of God. No Protestant can afford to support the laws because such support would immediately be interpreted as shameless subservience to Rome. Politicians who have to win both Protestant and Catholic support in order to reach Washington or the Governor's mansion die a little every time the subject comes up. They would rather talk about almost any other subject—and usually do.

This controversy, like so many others with religious overtones, is usually carried on at a dismally low level. People have shouted "Natural Law" and "Thought Control" at each other for so many years now that debates which might have been rational are mucky with emotion and group prejudice.

A rational argument should be focused on jurisprudential, not theological, issues. I can suggest three: Is the legal outlawing of birth-control information and contraceptive devices a fit subject for civil legislation? Do the existing laws serve any useful purpose? Are they necessary to prevent some grave injury to the common good or the maintenance of public (not private) morality which would surely exist if they were put aside? In a word, the essential political question is not whether birth control is moral or immoral. The question is, are the laws good laws? Do they represent sound legislation?

JOHN COGLEY.



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*As in America, Communism*
*is undergoing a serious internal crisis*

# Britain's Communists React

by DOUGLAS HYDE

WHEN THE editorial staff of the London *Daily Worker* got the bad news that their sister paper in New York had closed down, they called on Comrade John Williamson, for twenty-five years a member of the Communist Party in the United States, to explain the situation to their readers and to themselves.

There was, of course, the face-saving explanation behind the truculent headline which dominated the front page of the New York *Daily Worker's* last issue: "We'll Be Back." John Gates, the rebellious editor, and his colleagues were condemned as "revisionists" and "liquidators" in London, just as they had been by the Communist Party in the United States.

I was reminded of an earlier and somewhat similar crisis in the American, and then the British, Party. The Communist Party in the United States, under Earl Browder's influence, had been thinking then along much the same lines as those taken by Gates in 1956. When the news of Browder's defeat reached London, a staff meeting was called at which a member of the Political Bureau explained the upheaval taking place in the American Party's life. The misgivings which our staff had felt all along about the Browder line reflected, he said, the greater maturity of the British Party. The Communist Party of the United States had many successes to its credit, he told us, but over the years it had been dogged by sectarianism, a tendency to become aridly doctrinaire and a lamentable readiness to split wide open whenever a crisis arose. Then in typical Marxist fashion he went on to analyze the causes of these weaknesses. His conclusion was that they sprang from the Party's failure to strike its roots among the working masses. He reminded us that unless the Party rested upon a solid foundation of successful work in the unions, workshops and factories, the intellectuals were bound to become isolated from the real struggle and so quickly get things out of focus. It was here that revisionist tendencies had their origins.

I can well imagine that when John Williamson addressed the *Daily Worker* staff in London a few weeks ago the same moral was underlined even more heavily than before. At this latest meeting were some who were at that other meeting eleven years earlier. But there were a number missing, for the British Communist Party and its paper have also passed through a crisis during the last eighteen months. Unlike their comrades in America, however, the British Communists have emerged from it with their basic organization reasonably intact, although weakened, and their daily paper still in existence.

But the crisis was real enough, and it is one in which the Party is still living.

UNDER THE combined impact of the Twentieth Party Congress, the Polish Communists' assertion of their right to speak out, and Mao's "hundred flowers" speech, a number of prominent British Communist intellectuals began to urge that the party should democratize itself and make itself more "British." There was, for example, E. P. Thompson, university lecturer and widely respected author of the definitive Marxist interpretation of the life and work of William Morris. Thompson claimed the right to criticize the leaders and their policies, in print, without censorship.

Professor Hyman Levy was another. Levy is a very likable, humble man. He is also one of this country's leading mathematicians and had been one of the Party's outstanding, and utterly loyal, Marxist philosophers. Levy went as a member of an official delegation to the U.S.S.R. to inquire into the charges of Soviet anti-Semitism which were being made at the time. He returned appalled at what he had found and, in accord with the new trend, asserted his right to express his dismay, in the Communist press if possible, outside it if this should be closed to him.

On the *Daily Worker* staff there were a number of people who felt that this unprecedented freedom was in accord with Communism's new look and who openly and actively campaigned for change. To list a few of these rebels and to note their antecedents is revealing in itself: Malcolm McEwen, the paper's Parliamentary correspondent, son of titled parents; Shiela Lynd, features editor, daughter of Robert Lynd the essayist; Allison McLeod, television and books editor, member of one of the oldest and best-known Scottish families.

Mr. Hyde is the author of *I Believe*, an account of his conversion from Communism, and of the recently published *God's Bandit*.



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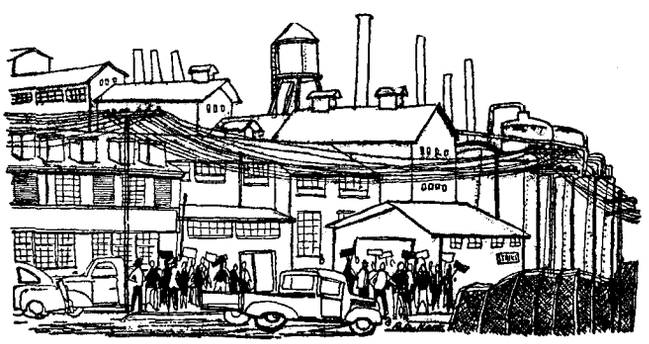
It was from types such as these that the main push for democratization came. For the first time in the Party's life, leaders were criticized and Soviet policies questioned. The critics found the experience exciting and clearly enjoyed every minute of it. Those comrades who suggested that the process was being taken too far were told that this was no more than the Polish Communists were doing.

Then came Hungary. To the rebels the Soviet behavior there was a horrifying and inexplicable betrayal. When Peter Fryer, the *Daily Worker's* Foreign Correspondent and a tried and trusted Marxist tutor, was sent to report on the situation in Hungary, he took one look around and resigned his job on the spot. Soon he was joined by the paper's famous cartoonist "Gabriel." To the paper's readers Gabriel was the very symbol of Communist incorruptibility. Fleet Street millionaire newspaper owners had tried over the years to buy him, but he had turned down all the tempting offers. The shock of his departure was considerable.

One by one the rebels went. By the beginning of 1957 almost half the *Daily Worker* staff had resigned and probably as many as another half of those who were left were dragging their feet. Twelve months ago, at a specially convened Communist Party congress, the rebels who still remained inside had their last fling. The Stalinist leaders, backed by the factory delegates, came out on top, and the remaining intellectuals were isolated. They had to choose whether to stay inside and toe the line or to be cast into the outer darkness. Most stayed. Among them was Professor Levy, who apparently just could not face a life of hostility to the cause for which he had sacrificed so much. Peter Fryer went to the Trotskyists and now leads their fight against the Communist Party leaders from outside.

AT THE HEIGHT of the Hungarian crisis there were moments when it seemed that the British *Daily Worker* would have to take the course subsequently taken by the U.S. paper. The cry of that moment was: "Your paper is in danger." The danger was real enough, as the figures showed. The highest circulation ever achieved in its history was in February, 1948, when daily sales reached 125,000. In the summer of 1956 they touched their lowest point, at 60,000.



The Communists in the factories and trade unions, however, saw the paper through the crisis. Why? Because in a sense the line expounded by the man from the Political Bureau at that staff meeting years ago was right. To survive as an effective fighting force a Communist Party must have some roots in the working masses. So must a Communist paper. The British Communist Party, weak though it is by comparison with those of France and Italy, had this to a far greater extent than the Communist Party of the U.S.

The intellectual is interested in ideas. If he is a Communist writer he must try to apply those ideas to the day-to-day concrete situation, and the betrayal of an idea is of immense practical importance to him. His problems are quite different from those of the factory worker. The Communist worker, who learns, for example, as he eats his breakfast, that the Red Army has gone back into Hungary, has one major preoccupation as he travels to work. It is: "What shall I tell my fellow workers when they start questioning me and criticizing the Party and the Soviet Union and, incidentally, jibing at me, too?" He has no time to think out the answers before he faces the barrage, no ivory tower into which he can retreat.

If the "good old *Daily Worker*" gives him the answer he is duly grateful. Thus, when the paper's voice was muted and confused because of the doubts of some intellectuals on its staff, his reaction was one of anger against the intellectuals. The call for the expulsion of the rebels came insistently and forcefully from the factory delegates at the special congress. To the outside world it seemed almost macabre that they should howl down sincere men who were wrestling with their consciences, but it was natural enough.

Although far fewer workers and trade union leaders than intellectuals left the Party under the impact of events in Hungary, there were sufficient to make the sales of the *Daily Worker* fall to a point where its fate appeared to be in the balance. But by putting its main emphasis for the time being upon wage demands and the people's living conditions, rather than upon international politics, the paper stopped the drift.

TODAY the *Daily Worker's* sales are slowly rising once again. The acute crisis, so far as one can judge from outside, has passed. Nevertheless, the chronic crisis within the paper and the Party continues. This is something which is not directly linked with any particular event. It goes deeper. And it may in time have a far more profound effect upon the future of British Communism than any international event.

Slowly, over the past ten years, the strength of Communism's appeal and influence has declined. Its most reliable supporters are in the ranks of the skilled, higher-paid workers, and although as a trained elite they still exercise an influence in the unions which is



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out of all proportion to their numbers, it is a waning one. The party's organization and actual membership in British industry bear no comparison with what they were a few years ago.

Given an acute economic recession with mass unemployment or a prolonged period of bitter class struggle, their strength might increase significantly and recruits would no doubt once again flow into the Party. The *Daily Worker* would in such circumstances pick up new readers, too. But the present general trend in industry, as elsewhere, is away from Communism. Its appeal has been enormously reduced in recent years by the spread of a better understanding of the nature and aims of the Communist Party. In this development Catholics have played an honorable part.

The Party leaders have had to watch their following go without the consolation of being presented with a single martyr. They have not even had a serious "witch hunt" to use as an alibi. Of course, the process is by no means complete. The Communists still have far too many successes. But the situation is entirely different from what it was ten years ago. Then the Party's influence and numbers were still in the ascendancy. Today they are in decline.

Most spectacular of all, and very dangerous for the *Daily Worker,* is the situation among the country's intellectuals. The British Communist Party, like that of the U.S., had for years a quite disproportionate number of middle-class intellectuals in its ranks. They added immensely to its prestige, played a prominent role among the leaders, helped to make it one of the best Marxist-educated parties in Europe, and, incidentally, provided many of the writers for the *Daily Worker.*

Throughout the twenties and thirties their numbers steadily grew. They made the mid-twenties to the mid-thirties known as the "pink decade." University students, writers, professors, scientists, civil servants, made up a significant proportion of its members. That situation has entirely changed. Communism is no longer fashionable in such circles. Intellectuals leave the Party, but few new ones come in. The stream from the universities has almost dried up.

Perhaps the most significant admission ever made in an official Communist Party publication in Britain was recently published in *World News,* the Party's ideological weekly. There, one of its writers admitted that it is "true to say that the mental climate created by the cold war has produced a generation of intellectuals who totally reject everything Communism stands for." I believe that to be absolutely true—although it has been Communism's own record, as much or more than the cold war, which has produced this situation.

That bodes ill for the Party and for the *Daily Worker.* It augurs well for the future of democracy.

# THE SCREEN

## ANOTHER MAN'S POISON

THE VERY THING in a movie that thrills one man may very well leave another man cold. Perhaps for this reason the current programs are offering a variety in thrills and violence that gives audiences a chance to pay their money and take their choice—or even seek their pleasures elsewhere.

"Cry Terror" starts out as a bomb-on-plane scare, but it is really a study of kidnappers and the kidnapped. James Mason, portraying an inventor in New York, is shocked to discover that the bomb he made for Rod Steiger, posing as a government man, is being used by extortionists to get money out of an airline. Before Mason can run to the police with his story, Steiger kidnaps him and his wife (Inger Stevens) and small daughter. Then, while cold, calculating Steiger and his ruthless associates (Jack Klugman as a gunman, Angie Dickinson as a tough babe and Neville Brand as a dope-taking degenerate) confine Mason and the little girl in a penthouse, they force the wife to collect the $500,000 from the airline and deliver it by a certain time—or else. This well-acted picture, written and directed by Andrew L. Stone, does build up a tremendous suspense; and it also has interesting scenes showing the F.B.I., the airline and the Federal Reserve in action. But, like "Julie," a somewhat thoughtless thriller made by the same producers, "Cry Terror" doesn't bear too close inspection as to motivations for behavior. Furthermore, the tensions mount so high without relief (humor would be welcome) that the audience begins to giggle in the wrong places, and the film becomes little more than a ludicrous exercise in terror for terror's sake.

SOMEWHAT MORE conventional but also more worthy in its depiction of the struggle between the good guys and the bad guys is "Damn Citizen!" This one tells the story of a war hero (Keith Andes) who in 1952 is finally persuaded by Louisiana's governor, civic and church leaders and his own wife (Margaret Hayes) to head the State Police in their fight against crime and vice. Under Robert Gordon's direction, the cast (which also includes Gene Evans as Andes' assistant, Edward C. Platt as the big boss of a vice ring, Lynn Bari as this gangster's girl friend, and many others) is not at all squeamish in portraying the sad state into which Louisiana has fallen. Andes has no easy time in his dangerous job, especially since there is so much corruption among the police and officials, and before it comes to its inevitable conclusion, "Damn Citizen!" gets pretty violent, but its suspense has some good points for civic-minded thrill-seekers.



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THE MAIN TROUBLE with "Chase a Crooked Shadow" is that its viewers are unlikely to be sure whose side they are supposed to be on. Should they line up with Anne Baxter, an heiress who is recuperating in Spain on the Costa Brava, or with Richard Todd, who arrives one night at her lonely villa and insists he is her brother, supposedly killed in an auto accident last year? Todd gives Anne a pretty frightening time of it, especially when he moves into her place with his own officious servants. Certain that her brother is dead, Anne has cause to get panicky when her uncle (Alexander Knox) and the Police Commissioner (Herbert Lom) identify Todd and she puts the young man through several harrowing tests—which he survives. Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., has given his film a handsome production, and Michael Anderson's good direction adds to the atmosphere. However, the mystery is dragged out too long; the material would have been better on a half-hour T.V. program than in a full-length movie, even though there is many a goose pimple in these creepy goings-on.

CLOAK-AND-DAGGER fans should find "Count Five and Die," with its plot about spies and counter-spies in London before the World War II invasion of the Continent, much to their liking. Nigel Patrick plays an Englishman who is the head of a project set up to fool the Germans into thinking that the invasion will be through Holland. Jeffrey Hunter plays his American second-in-command. The rest of the group is Dutch. These members of the Allied Military Intelligence would have had an easier time if they had communicated their plans to each other more often, but no one trusts anyone else, and Director Victor Vicas manages to keep you in suspense until all the cards are down. Although you too may begin to suspect each character of being a German spy, the film has a nice documentary air as well as plenty of excitement.

A THOROUGHLY absorbing English film that may keep you divided in your loyalties is "The One That Got Away." Hardy Kruger gives an excellent performance in this true story of Franz von Werra, the only German prisoner of war who was captured in Britain and finally escaped to Germany. After establishing the character of his handsome, cocky *Oberleutnant* who's determined to escape, Director Roy Baker concentrates on suspense and chase, and I, at least, found myself pulling for this courageous enemy who makes his first get-away from a P.O.W. camp in the Lake District, only to be recaptured after a beautifully photographed chase through this lovely country. Von Werra's next attempt, made by posing as a Dutch air pilot at an R.A.F. station, is even more daring, and his final attempt, after he's sent to Canada with a group of prisoners, is a thrilling drama of survival over adverse conditions posed by man and weather. All in all, "The One That Got Away" is an exciting tale, well told.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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**ONE HUNDRED YEARS AFTER**

# The Modernity of Baudelaire

by HORACE GREGORY

THE HUNDRED years since the publication of *Les Fleurs du Mal* have effected only the most superficial changes in the relationship of the poet to the world. For Charles Baudelaire's position, however startling, however unique it may have seemed in his own lifetime, is still archetypical of the modern poet. In Baudelaire's essays on art he stressed the modernity of his position, his place in the world which was that of the singular and visionary interpreter of life.

Whenever he wrote of Delacroix, for instance, he revealed the positive aspects of his beliefs. He spoke of the authority of Delacroix's imagination, of its power to reawaken the "mnemotechny of the grandeur and the native passion of universal man," of its interpretation of "the invisible, the impalpable, the dream, the nerves, the *soul*." These were the ends that Baudelaire sought, and at times achieved in his own writing. These truths are nowhere more clearly illustrated than in Dr. Enid Starkie's *Baudelaire*. (New Directions. $10.) This revised edition, which will probably take its place as one of the few masterpieces in twentieth century biography, has essential value in being a brilliantly sustained study of what Baudelaire wrote.

It may be said that few modern poets have lived up to the standards that Baudelaire declared in his tributes to Delacroix, but that is a matter of degree, defined by their gifts, their abilities, their talents which do not change the essential nature of their position. First of all, Baudelaire lived within the orbit of Christian cul-

*Mr. Gregory, a frequent contributor to this magazine, is a well-known poet, critic and editor.*



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ture, yet the terms in which he asserted the presence of evil have no place in Canon Law. (In our time, during the late twenties and thirties, and in the names of psycho-analysis and Marxism, sociology was offered as a substitute for religion. As events since World War II have shown, religion has not lost its force in Western culture. The "new" panaceas of sociology are, of course, material, and not to be substituted for spiritual concerns. Christianity remains the enduring fabric of Western culture.) Baudelaire's concern was in the mysterious quality of being, "the invisible, the implacable" that exists within the appearances of things.

Candidly enough, Baudelaire addressed his remarks "To the Bourgeois," and the Bourgeois are still with us, in the United States as well as in France today. It is significant that totalitarian plans for living promise the *material* advantages of Bourgeois life for *all,* but with political discrimination. The poet still addresses the Bourgeois, and whether or not their status is modified by state taxes and various forms of state pensions or "doles," the complexion of their thinking and desires remains the same; and today in the United States their majority is greater than in any other place on earth.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Baudelaire's environment, his Paris, was a capital of modern civilization, the glittering citadel of Louis Napoleon, which contained many of the same conflicting forces, including the extremes of bureaucratic dictatorship that are familiars of the Western world today. That analogy might well apply to New York of 1958, even to its exhibitions of art, its galleries, its museums, its activities in the name of civic improvement, its new bridges and housing projects. And last, Baudelaire in his affection for and hatred of the city, was of his environment and yet obliquely and distinctly above it, a critic of its blind materialism, and a member of the classless *élite* to which all true poets in all ages belong.

SINCE 1880 and through the channels of Symbolism *Les Fleurs du Mal* has deeply colored the main streams of modern poetry. The only exceptions have occurred in periods when revivals of the Parnassian school came into fashion. This is made clear in a recent book on Verlaine. (*Verlaine: Fool of God.* By Lawrence and Elizabeth Hanson. Random. $5.) Intelligent historical commentary on French literature in English is all too rare, and the Hansons' *Verlaine* is better than it looks. It deserves particular attention for its lucid account of the Parnassian school and Verlaine's evolution from it. It also performs the necessary service of rescuing Verlaine from sentimental associations which defined his poetry as a "perfume-tinted" art.

The real weakness of the Parnassians was that they had little or nothing to say. Of this group Catulle Mendes was a typical figure; his verse was facile, alert, correct in external appearances, easily read, understood and forgotten. The Parnassians shied away from the "internal abyss" of human consciousness; they reflected, and with technical skill, the more brilliant surfaces of sentiment and social attitudes. However far "Right" they seemed to lean and were, their cause was joined with the extroverted demands of the "social-minded" poets, for both groups accepted the standard of direct communication with their readers—the majority of the Bourgeois, or "the masses."

In this country something very like a revival of the Parnassian esthetic took place thirty years ago, and extended its influence through the thirties and the forties. This explains the tolerance of extreme "Right" poets for those of the extreme "Left," for both were engaged, whether consciously or not, in "writing down" to audiences.

IF BAUDELAIRE lacked a full measure of self-knowledge, he possessed self-insight, the kind of insight that perceived the potentials of man's reach toward divine good and evil. It is possible for the sentimental or literal-minded critic to regard his life as an example of failure; he remained "maladjusted" to the material demands of the society which he knew so well. In actuality he deserved no tears of pity. In spite of his notorious "maladjustments" his achievements were of the first order. The poems of *Les Fleurs du Mal* were the true measure of his success.

Today Baudelaire seems to have reached the apotheosis of his reputation. The "inner" truths of his sight of evil, particularly in *"Une Martyre"* and *"Femmes Damnées"* may shock us less today than those who read them a hundred years ago, but the depth of their compassion and irony is no less vivid and evocative, nor is the contrasting image of *"Le Beau Navire"* less inspiring and new. *"Le Voyage"* still holds its place among the masterpieces of modern verse.

And today Baudelaire's self-insight may be read as a reassertion of the poet *not* to yield to the transitory demands of worldly institutions and rewards.

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# One Step Further on a Solitary Way

**EXILE AND THE KINGDOM. By Albert Camus. Translated by Justin O'Brien. Knopf. $3.50.**

By BERNARD G. MURCHLAND

THE DEVELOPMENT of Albert Camus' perspective with each new book proves how extremely dangerous it is to pronounce judgment upon him.

The six short stories (his first venture in this medium) in *Exile and the Kingdom* are not all equal in tone, range or execution. But they all add some significant insight into the great themes that have preoccupied Camus since he began writing. Here, it seems to me, is impressive evidence that the predominant pole of his artistic universe is a creative search for happiness. In these stories Camus is less concerned with defining a spiritual exile than with establishing a refuge of innocence, a kind of salvation. This is by far his most positive work.

Janine, the "Adulterous Woman," experiences a strange fulfillment when she leaves her husband in an isolated North African town to give herself to the mystery of the night. "Before her the stars were falling one by one and being snuffed out among the stones of the desert," writes Camus, "and each time Janine opened a little more to the night. Breathing deeply, she forgot the cold, the dead weight of others, the craziness or stuffiness of life, the long anguish of living and dying. After so many years of mad, aimless fleeing from fear she had come to stop at last."

This passage is fairly typical of both the author's lyrical yet controlled style and the general sense of each story. A priest suffers a maddening crucifixion at the hands of savages and somehow the absurdity of treason is lifted into a context of meaningfulness. An engineer in Brazil expiates the weakness of a friend by indulging in a sudden act of religion and thereby wins a degree of communion and peace. Even where defeat, betrayal and longing remain unvanquished, Camus imparts the impression that human nature retains a simple and quiet dignity that is strengthened in adversity. In "The Artist at Work," a satirical account of a painter's struggle with the conflicting demands of art and society, he effectively juxtaposes the words "solitary" and "solidary" to indicate that, whatever the misery and implacable caducity of life, we always have each other. Wherever two or three are gathered together there is hope, Camus seems to say.

The reader will note the author's assurance and purity of style—which lend more force to the argument that Camus has turned out to be Gide's most apt pupil. He reveals, too, a redoubtable simplicity and audacity of mind that enables him to knit a broad range of emotion into a penetrating assessment of a central situation. In "The Silent Men," for example, a complicated human situation takes on the fine, hard contours of Yvars' simple philosophy of life.

These stories are significant in terms of the human awareness they promote and for their success in directing a shaft of light into the mystery that envelops us. But when these things are said, one criticism must be registered. In *Exile and the Kingdom* Camus never quite escapes a quality of indeterminateness that ill befits his creative ability and what seems to be his intention. The stories lack the concreteness and dramatic impact of, say *The Stranger* or *The Plague*. And they fall far short of the vigorous, indeed merciless, realism of *The Fall*. There is a curious discrepancy between Camus' technical excellence and intensity and the final rather vague evaluation his characters make of their own dilemmas. Henry James, it will be recalled, made a similar observation about *Madame Bovary*. And in this sense

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precision of expression became somewhat meaningless. That is to say it does not fulfill its own promises.

This failing may be traceable to an odd pride in the French writer's craft that fears being caught out in an illusion. Camus has always been desperately intent upon creating a new religion, but he has always been at least implicitly aware that it might turn out to be an old religion. It is quite conceivably the desire not to be guilty of "bad faith," not to settle for just an ordinary human nature (as it has always been accepted by the generality of men) that leads him to keep the edges of his positive vision safely non-commital. It is as though he were deliberately putting a check on an impulse to explore more fully the sense of human destiny he perceived in *The Fall.*

This does not mean, however, that Camus is unfaithful to his purpose: "The aim of art," he has said, "and the aim of a man's life, can only be to increase the sum of freedom and responsibility that is in every man in the world." It is the problem, in the midst of great toil and a divided civilization, of bringing as much of our own nature as possible into the light of expression and understanding. In this Camus can be credited with as much success as most writers today. In *Exile and the Kingdom* it is clear that his extraordinary mind is hard at the task. Roger Martin du Gard has rightly said of him: "Each new work carries him one step further on a solitary way, laid out in advance, which leads somewhere."

Just where remains to be seen.

# Contemporary Dialogue

**THE AMERICAN PARISH AND THE ROMAN LITURGY. By H. A. Reinhold. Macmillan. $3.50.**

By WILLIAM PETREK

THIS BOOK is a quiet event. Blending well liturgical, theological, historical and pastoral considerations, Father Reinhold conveys the workings of the contemporary ecclesiastical dialectic. The tradition of community worship in the Roman liturgy is thesis, the present state of that same worship in the average American Catholic parish is antithesis, and the synthesis, while left formally unaffirmed, is generously suggested at least in broad outline and occasionally in detail.

"Since so many statements in this book are tentative and challenge customary ways of thinking and acting," the author chose the sub-title, "An Essay in Seven Chapters." He is not playing the coward but respecting the nature of dialogue. He is most persuasive because of his evident frankness, cogency and a refreshing vigor of style from which the warmed-over slogans of much "liturgical" writing are absent. His attitude respects disagreement and understands a possible sense of incompleteness. What he would seem to forbid is the blind, fitful refusal to enter the contemporary dialogue.

Although some of the material in this volume appeared earlier in various publications, it has now been reworked. Unity of presentation is due to responsible editing, of course, but also to the author's mature understanding of the nature of the dialectic. The tone of sober and chaste prophetic urgency contributes further to this rational unity.

Father Reinhold is aware that definition of the Roman liturgy is a most inadequate affair. Life is not syllogism, and the mystery-life of sacramental celebration especially escapes such rigidity. "Like great works of art, the liturgy of Rome is direct and unreflected." "The liturgy is total, not sectional; it is organic, not mechanic; dramatic, not repetitious." "Liturgy is . . . work, challenge, personal 'engagement.'" "It is not without feeling and emotion . . . But it is a formed, restrained, noble and grand sentiment." "Sober, universal, lived, all in mystery-sacrament."

The author has a firm grip on the essential structure of the Roman Mass: a liturgy of the Word disposing to a Sacrifice-Banquet. Thus he rejects "explanations" inspired by an ignorance of the true spirit of the Christian community's historical response to the Master's injunction: "Do this in memory of me." The Biblical pattern of the celebration of the Word is rehabilitated, giving priority to the address of God and subordinating the prayerful response of man. What a marvelously simple directness is reinstated when the scrambled is unscrambled, when God's creative Word comes to the faithful who receive it in trust and joy!

Gratitude for salvation is the propulsive force of the solemn prayer which moves in praise, in narrational consecration and in offering from the Eucharistic preface to the ritualistic doxology where the glory-to-the-Father-through-the-Son-in-the-Holy-Spirit orientation of Christian community worship is most emphatic. Communion becomes the sacred meal, prepared for communally, taken fraternally.

Other aspects of the Roman liturgy are rehabilitated as well: its community nature, its hierarchical distribution of real functions, its reality as something "done," celebrated. Confirmation, Extreme Unction, sacramentals, the Church Year


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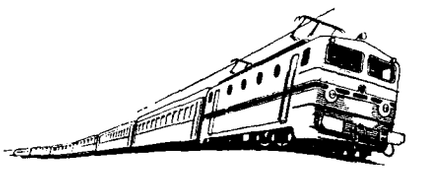
(an exciting exposition) and the Christian Sunday receive more dimensions than the catechetically trained imagination permits them. The author's appraisal of the Roman liturgy is marked by fullness, depth, and dynamism.

The analysis of the status quo is what will gratify some readers, pique others and probably horrify some. The description of the actual celebration of the liturgy in the average American Catholic parish will provide a test of the reader's Christian sensibility, of his understanding of what a Christian community at worship should be doing. "In our hurried age most services are externally pretty sorry businesses which presume in the attendants that biblical faith that is able to move mountains." ". . . the prevailing pattern of mute and silent spectators and performing specialists . . . the passivity, the silence, and the patience of Catholic congregations at what is called 'sacramental worship.'" Distributing Communion at times which show no concern for its role as an integral element of the Mass, counting noses, ignoring the elementary psychology of communication, being satisfied with the legal minimum—all this leads to rites more perpetrated than celebrated, to the emotionalism and individualism so characteristic of much popular devotion.

Father Reinhold's suggestions for the future are present in his loving appreciation of the tradition of community worship and are implied in his criticisms of present practice. Highly cognizant of modern conditions, he is no "archeologist," no "faddist"; in fact, if we had to find a name for him, we would call him a "traditionalist," one who thinks and hopes contemporarily in a living *traditio*. This explains his clear intuition of the import of reforms already introduced into the liturgy by Rome in recent years. Evening Masses, revised Eucharistic regulations, successive Holy Week reforms, the progression of the vernacular (for which on his own the author argues in a most balanced fashion) are not historical accidents to be dismissed in a false loyalty to the status quo. The author merits a "Sentire cum Ecclesia" commendation, and this time the concept is not used as a weapon.

Movement from antithesis to synthesis in the Church is seldom violent, which does not mean that it is not painful. It is painful both in its reasoned preparation and in its gradual execution. Much that the author says in his essay has been said by others, though not with such incisiveness. Seldom, however, has the total problem been so competently, provocatively and urgently presented. The author contributes in his special way to the reasoned preparation of the synthesis and he knows full well that the less concerned will charge him with temerity. But I am sure that Father Reinhold, with his knowledge of Church history, knows that often yesterday's tradition is today's temerity but tomorrow's reform. The Holy Spirit and growing hunger for authentic gestures will make their way.

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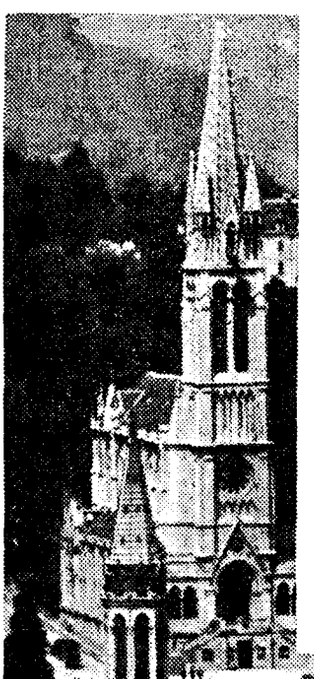

This year an event of great religious significance will take place at the shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes in Southern France. For the pilgrim it will also be a fine opportunity to see France and visit her many other inspiring shrines . . . Notre Dame de Paris, Sacré Coeur, Paray le Monial, St. Anne d'Auray, Chartres and Lisieux, to mention only a few.

●

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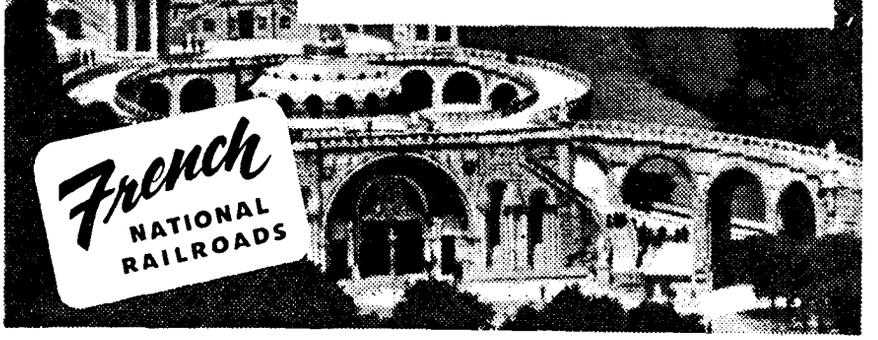


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# The American Literary Form

**THE BEST AMERICAN SHORT STORIES 1957. Edited by Martha Foley. Houghton Mifflin. $4.**

By RILEY HUGHES

NOT LONG AGO I suggested, in the course of a talk to high school teachers visiting Washington from some sixty foreign countries, that the interested observer from abroad might well read the Martha Foley and the O. Henry Memorial Award annuals for an insight into the current American scene. These particular friendly visitors had come primed with Mark Twain, Jack London, and the early Steinbeck. As they looked around them, they were understandably puzzled. Nothing they had read prepared them for what they sensed and saw.

But with our only truly American literary form, especially as winnowed by so sensitive an editor and critic as Martha Foley, foreign and native observers alike can have the possibility of determining what we are now, and what we are about. Take, for example, Miss Flannery O'Connor's "Greenleaf," the most considerable story in a distinguished collection, and what it says about the new South. Mrs. May and her two sons are of the landowning class, but only Mrs. May condescends to work the farm. One son is a disdainful college professor; the other sells policy to the local Negroes. The future does not belong to them, but to Mr. Greenleaf, the hired man, and his sons O. T. and E. T., veterans both and beneficiaries of a bountiful government. All that is left for Mrs. May is to be gored, literally and with apposite symbolism, by the Greenleaf boys' bull. In Wyatt Blassingame's "Man's Courage" another aspect of the South—one to reflect on hopefully when the news comes in from Little Rock—is seen in the moral struggle between Lieutenant Henderson, a Negro, and Lee Stewart, a private from Mississippi.

"Lulu Borrow" by Thomas Mabry is another sympathetic study of a Negro. Lulu cooks for the MacFarland family and unknown to them provides spiritual ambience for Wade MacFarland as he grows into awareness of her world. To the rest of the family she is a workhorse, a drudge with a sweet tooth, with local fame as maker of divinity fudge. Mrs. MacFarland sells Lulu worn clothing and furnishings, but with that all contact ceases. When Lulu dies of their neglect, only Wade knows that he "would find her wherever he went, wherever he breathed. He breathed in deeply now, and as he breathed in, it seemed that he was breathing in love."

The attempts, not all of them failures, of human beings to communicate with one another, to bridge separateness, give theme and tempo to many of these stories. "I Stand Here Ironing" by Tillie Olsen is a reflective monologue in which a mother tries to understand her daughter Emily, "a child seldom smiled at." In "Run, Run Away, Brother" John Campbell Smith tells of a man's attempt to exorcize the spirit of a brother ("still the minority of one, the coward, the incompetent") rendered heroic and inaccessible because he died in war.

This collection is catholic and many schools of technique have been made welcome. "The Dark Roots of the Rose," by Walter Clemons, one of the strongest stories in the book, is a well plotted romance, a tale of murder and vengeance set in early Texas. For contrast there is Nelson Algren's "Beasts of the Wild," an impressionistic brothel album.

The year 1957, clearly, was a good one for the short story. The evidence is abundant in the work of such writers of solid and growing reputation as Flannery O'Connor and Doris Betts, of "new" writers like Gina Berriault and Walter Clemons, and in the skilled story-telling of such steady performers as Nancy Hale, Nelson Algren, and Thomas Mabry. This year's volume is disappointing in only one particular: the customary yearbook supplement, listing distinguished stories and collections, has been omitted for the first time.

**REVIEWERS**

**Father Bernard G. Murchland, C.S.C., is a member of the editorial staff of Fides Publishers.**

**Father William Petrek is head of the department of philosophy at Holy Cross Seminary, La Crosse, Wisconsin.**

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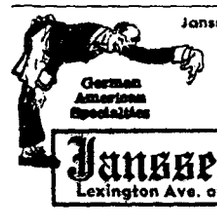
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# The 1920's and the 1950's

*It is devoutly to be hoped that there is considerably less reason today for national concern over increasing unemployment than there was in 1928.*

What has caused the drift toward joblessness? The answer seems to be a dwindling of farm labor on the one hand, and a tendency to cut down industrial payrolls on the other. Machines have supplanted a great deal of labor that was merely muscular movement. Federal statistics show a steady decline in the number of those employed in factories.

Dr. Julius Klein, who, as director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, is familiar with such matters, declares, however, that this decline was in progress throughout the whole tide of prosperity. The "many thousands" displaced were, he says, absorbed by "non-manufacturing pursuits." Chief among these are motor servicing and distribution, amusement enterprises and the operation of hotels. This last business, which has expanded vastly since the appearance of the tourist automobile, is believed to have provided employment for a million persons. But just as soon as the industrial boom began to sag, the "psychological" and other influences began to brush off excrescences here, there and yonder. The accumulated human debris is now so vast in bulk as almost to have exceeded the powers of charity agencies to offer relief.

—From The Commonweal, March 21, 1928.

In the old days of greater laissez-faire there was less justification than there is now to couple the current degree of national prosperity with Administration policies. . . . Not only does unemployment throughout the land approach the five-million mark, but in many industries more catastrophic lay-offs have been avoided up to now only by resorting to reduced-income, part-time employment. Other indications of the character of the times can be found in the impressions of the business community that this is clearly a "hard-sell" period and that bargain hunting and price cutting are becoming more and more prominent. In the same way, political observers are convinced that heightening domestic anxieties and resentments dim the prospects for the Eisenhower program on foreign aid and trade.

Acknowledging the facts constitutes but one step in the attack against hard times. But once the major deficiencies in the economy have been officially admitted, the obstacles to remedial measures will greatly dwindle. As it is now, the recession snowball is gaining momentum. The inadequacy of trying to meet the situation by reducing margin requirements in Wall Street and encouraging business loans by cutting interest rates and permitting a small increase in available reserves becomes increasingly apparent.

—From The Commonweal, March 7, 1958.


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